Volume LXXVIII CHICAGO, October 26, 1916 Number 8

# UNITY

Freedom, Fellowship and Character in Religion

Official Organ of the Congress of Religion

## THE LEADER OF THE PEOPLE

Earth listens for the coming of his feet;
The hushed Fates lean expectant from their seat.
He will be calm and reverent and strong,
And, carrying in his words the fire of song,
Will send a hope upon these weary men,
A hope to make the heart grow young again,
A cry to comrades scattered and afar:
Be constellated, star by circling star;
Give to all mortals justice and forgive:
License must die that liberty may live.
Let Love shine through the fabric of the State—
Love deathless, Love whose other name is Fate.
Fear not: we cannot fail—
The Vision will prevail.
Truth is the Oath of God, and, sure and fast,
Through Death and Hell holds onward to the last.

*—Edwin Markham.*

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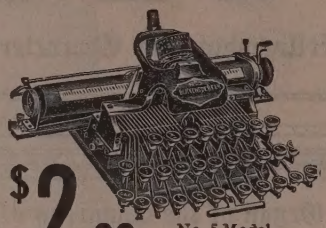

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# UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXXVIII THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1916. NUMBER 8

## THE REAL AMERICANISM.

1. To be a great self-governing nation whose progress depends upon the conscience, the self-control and the loyalty of its citizens.
2. To put before "anything we please," that which we ought to do; to be worthy of freedom.
3. To be a free, self-governing people, which does not have to be watched, but which watches itself.
4. To think first of others, and only secondly of ourselves, in all the transactions of our lives.
5. To see to it that we are all real neighbors.
6. To cultivate a community feeling.
7. To understand the other nations, since we are drawn out of the other nations—since we ARE those nations.
8. To interpret the thought of the world.
9. To exemplify the sympathies of the world, not only in thought but in action.
10. To stand by the little nations that need to be stood by.
11. To desire not a single inch of foreign territory.
12. To stand NOT for national aggression, not for hostile rivalry, not for the things which stir the antagonistic passions of mankind, but for the RIGHTS of mankind, of every sort, everywhere.
13. To be stirred not by interference with our ambitions, but only by interference with our sympathies, which are the sympathies of all human kind.
14. To take counsel with the nations of the world in order that the fundamental rights of man may be safeguarded and advanced, re-defined, re-established.
15. To maintain the traditions of the republic, which were that all men, everywhere, should know that here was a place where men who desire justice and freedom were welcome to come, and, having come, would be received as real brothers in the common enterprise which was for the interest of all men of every kind.
16. To show to all the world that we are not interested in the geography of politics, but interested only in seeing that there are no boundaries or frontiers to the rights of mankind.
17. To illustrate the brotherhood of mankind.
18. To believe in all men as we would have them believe in America.
19. To welcome all men to a great comradeship and partnership in the great enterprise of a free people, a triumphant illustration of the spirit of America in human brotherhood and in the service of mankind.

*From address by President Wilson at Chicago Stockyards, October 19, 1916.*

In these days of political excitement and partisan prejudices, we realize how sensitive political nerves grow. We recognize the fact that UNITY is pledged as much to be non-partisan in politics as it is to be non-sectarian in religion. But because independency is so excluded from the newspapers of today, and those who make it their business to enlighten the people on political issues make it also their business to edit life, speech and facts for partisan ends, we deem it quite in the line of UNITY's traditions and ambitions to give this issue over to such political materials as are excluded from the current press. The exhibit in parallel columns of the words of Bernhardi, Roosevelt, Lord Roberts and President Wilson reveal the roots of some of the fundamental issues. The citations from the first three were arranged from a compilation made by Charles McKinley of Madison, Wisconsin. The citations from President Wilson were made at UNITY office, in the hope that thereby the contrast between the two theories would be made obvious and forceful. The powers that be at Democratic Headquarters could not see their way clear to print Mr. McKinley's work, UNITY is willing because we believe it is a real contribution to those who are studying the philosophies which underlie all peace and war discussions. For similar reasons, we print the open letter to Gifford Pinchot. It was deemed not good campaign material at party headquarters. It is not to the liking of the editors of the daily papers, so we offer this issue with its added four pages as a contribution to those who are still independent enough to *study* the political situation and face November 7 with an open mind.

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The *Chicago Tribune*, the ever-belligerent and always "Preparedness newspaper," adds another indolent battleship in order that a new dreadnaught may be equipped. It tells us the *Vermont, Kansas* and *New Hampshire* are "stripped of their crew to provide a crew for the new dreadnaught, *Arizona*," and, of course, blames it all on Wilson. But we suspect that, were Hughes in the chair, or even the belligerent Teddy, the trouble would be very much the same. The plain, stubborn, and, to our mind, splendid truth is that our youngsters are not rushing into the navy or into the regular army. They have been unmoved, in the main by all the cheers and flag-waving enthusiasm of bank presidents, "captains of industry," and patriotic multi-millionaires who sleep ill of nights for fear of invasion. The American youths have more attractive business on hand, higher ideals to pursue than to become expert workers of death-dealing machinery. The truth is the United States is short on material out of which to make "Tommies" and "Jackies." Civic armies, that go forth to make good roads, irrigate desert lands, drain swamps, and fight disease, under such leaders as Goethals and Gorgas, are more easily recruited. Our colleges are alive with boys, and girls, too, who are in enthusiastic training for efficiency in the higher preparedness that prepares for life and not for death.

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HOME FROM THE FRONT! Chicago has been welcoming back the boys; the crack First Regiment of Cavalry and the notable "millionaires' battery" have come home shivering, and to one who slept out under the stars in midwinter, hunted his clothes as he scrambled

up out of snowdrifts, chopped his boots out of the frozen mud, with thousands of other cheerful, singing boys at the front, this complaint of these favorites seems a little amusing, to say the least. In mild October, when the thermometer was scarcely down to freezing point, forty of these millionaire boys walked out of the camp and went home "because it was cold," and the management, thinking discretion was the better part of valor, allowed the rest of them to seek their steam-heated apartments. The truth is, this state militia duty has been more of a social function than a patriotic service to countless numbers of those who suddenly found themselves called to the front. And they were unprepared in mind, however well developed in body, for the hardships of the body and the indignities to mind which military service inevitably implies. Should the dire emergency ever arise, the United States will not be wanting in boys who, in the spirit of '61-'65, will be equal to the test; but until such an emergency arises, the play-soldiers will run home without leave, if opportunity occurs, and cry like the innocent babes they are: "MAMMA, I'M COLD!"

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Daniel Kiefer of the Joseph Fels Fund Commission, Cincinnati, Ohio, is arranging an itinerary for Lincoln Steffens from the East to the West. Mr. Steffens is probably one of the best informed students of the Mexican situation. He has spent two winters in that disturbed country; the better part of eight months he was with Carranza on his trains and trips. He has a story to tell of these people that the American people ought to hear. The circular announcement of his lectures says:

He went to Mexico after many years of study of American government, business and politics in American cities and states, and he says that such understanding as he had of our conditions at home, gave him the key to Mexico, before and during the revolution there. But he does not try to impose his view of Mexico upon anybody. He tells a story; the story of the clumsy, violent, often corrupt, but fundamentally earnest attempt of the Mexican people to solve their problem, which is, at bottom, our problem; the problem of social living. And, keeping our own story in mind, he makes a comparison which is said to make clearer both the Mexican and the American efforts toward a better state of being.

The lecture gives a brief, but distinct picture of the Diaz government, a dramatic, inside narrative of the outbreak of the revolt; the comic-tragic course of the revolution; the incompetence, corruption and the high purposes of the revolutionary leaders; and the dull, but simple hopes of the people. What the Mexicans have done and what they propose to do; the opposition both from within and from without to their plans, and the chances of success—these are all indicated. Most of the questions asked today in the United States about Mexico are answered, but those that are not may be asked of the speaker who, after he has told his story, will entertain and try to meet inquiries from the audience. In brief, Mr. Steffens intends to furnish facts to help his hearers form their own conclusion about a very acute situation which really needs to be understood.

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Syrian, Armenian and Balkan "Relief Funds"—how the appeals multiply! Milk funds for dying babies; food and clothes funds for widows; Red Cross pleas; all constitute an ever-increasing pile on the table of every editor, minister or private citizen suspected of humanitarian impulses. How hard it is to refuse! How easy it is to become calloused to the "calls"! Some day it will appear how wicked it is to salve the conscience by these attempts to dress the wounds which have been inflicted by our own weapons, and to ameliorate the consequences of the wars we have tolerated and promoted. There is something ghastly in the moral make-up of the one who will clamor for more soldiers and then hustle for funds to repair the damages. The only relief fund that will bring much relief to Syrian, Armenian or Balkan is that which will stop the accursed business. "CEASE FIRING!" and the women and children will be provided for, even by the men that are left, if they are only sent home to their plowing. Take the bayonet out of their hands and give them hoes and scythes! The last appeal for one of these funds, it matters not much which one, contains on the letter head fourteen or more D. D.'s, and the plea is signed by a D. D. Are the D. D.'s lending themselves to the humiliation of Christianity, the paralysis of religion, when they are so conspicuous after the battle, so scarce in protesting against the mobilization of those husbands and fathers to their destruction? Oh, we believe that the ministers of religion have a place in hospitals. They should ameliorate, if they can, the gruesomeness of graveyards, but these titled doctors of divinity ought to be in evidence in the council chambers of nations where laws are made and where diplomatic relations are considered. Many a preacher has unfrocked himself these gruesome years that he might better wield the sword; not enough of them, as it seems to us, have rallied round the standard of the one who conquered on Calvary, whose last command was "Put up thy Sword." Brethren, isn't it one thing or another—the Cross *or* the sword, not the Cross *and* the sword? Twenty centuries of blood-letting leaves the wounded man still by the roadside, waiting for a Samaritan to do what the priest evades by passing by on the other side.

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## A Minister in the Steel-Mills

We print in another column an open letter from the Rev. John W. Newsom, pastor of the Baptist Church of Valparaiso, Ind. It may well be regarded as a "source document." It is a revelation, from the inside, of the spirit and conditions that beset the common laborer in the great Gary steel mills, which being in a new city and a model up-to-date plant, may be taken to represent the most favorable side of the iron industry. The letter tells its own story.

The prevailing good will that lights up the murky surroundings of the coke ovens and elsewhere is a refreshing testimony to the inherent kindness of human nature and the spiritual sanitation of toil.

The evidence of interest in and care for the welfare of the laborer on behalf of the management is an encouraging indication of the movement of the twentieth century towards the next synthesis that must come through the good will and intelligence, from the inside if possible, from the outside if necessary, in the way of humane exactions of righteous law. We mean some kind of a union of capital and labor. Labor is slowly but surely organizing itself into efficiency; capital has long since acquired a mutual understanding and a co-operation perhaps unparalleled in the history of man. Next will come an intelligent recognition and formal organization of the mutual interests of employer and employe. The puddler before the roaring furnace and the gentleman director, who rolls to his office in a sumptuous automobile, are brothers in fact. Commercially, partners, and it is a crime to ignore the fact and perpetuate the antagonism. How much is yet to be done in this direction is shown by the one gruesome revelation of the long hours imposed upon the severest toil. "Fourteen hours," says the Rev. John W. Newsom, "these men are held from home and personal interests." The pastor who has tried it figures somehow that there were still left two hours in which these laborers can be men, "to cultivate human interests, make love to wife or sweetheart, play with children and learn to be good citizens, etc., etc." We suspect that this two-hour day is more theoretical than practical. It might be maintained by a social experimenter for six weeks. We wonder how it would be if our Baptist brother had been on the job six years. In reading this "original document" do not pass lightly over the memorandum that "one worker was killed in the yards, another electrocuted and a boy blinded with acid." These dangers may be inevitable; it may be the unavoidable toll of the human army, but has everything been done that ought to be done to lighten the burden of those who are left, to strengthen the blind boy and educate the orphan children. This letter, the authenticity of which has been verified, first appeared in the *Valparaiso Daily Vidette*.

## Johnny Hand—The Fiddler

"Johnny Hand" is dead, Chicago's great fiddler. He was a little German who, sixty-five years ago, came from Germany as a modest wood carver and cigar maker, but he brought with him we suspect, as a part of the immigrant "luggage," a fiddle—not a violin, but a plain fiddle, and he was simply a fiddler who could compel heel and toe to keep time to his fiddling. Latterly, he became a "violinist," the "leader of an orchestra."

He began in fiddling for barn dances; he ended in playing the violin at millionaire weddings. He became the indispensable ornament at swell functions, the pride and admiration of proud dames and famous capitalists. But all this time he was simply "Johnny Hand." He laid aside his carver's tools, he wore a top hat, but still he was the magician of the bow.

Johnny Hand lived almost eighty-eight years. He probably was one of the best beloved, most widely known personalities in Chicago. The sentence in Jack Lait's appreciative tribute in the *Chicago Herald*, that most impressed the present writer, who is dull of ear and heavy of foot, was this: "In those days, the girls who now are mistresses of mansions on the Lake Shore Drive, would capture Johnny and his violin to give spirit to sleigh-rides to far away points over roadless snow-drifts to a barn for the dance where he *'called-off'* as well as played."

Is the "calling-off," a social quadrille dance where there was grace and spirit and where each one of the eight came in due time to bow and touch the hand and trip the toe to every other one in the set, lost for ever? And is there nothing left for clean-minded, high-spirited, joyful young men and women but the inane, listless, ungraceful and oftentimes disgraceful jig-jig-jiggledy of the "one-step" and the "turkey trot?" The most spiritless, unintellectual, hopelessly stupid gathering in modern life is the respectable dance, as conducted nowadays. At these functions young people, and old people, too, try to persuade themselves that the dances, originated in unrespectable places, are very nice, quite proper, "the thing to do, don't you know."

We believe in dancing; religion and morals may well take up the refrain: "On with the dance!" But give us back the dance of our forefathers, the dance of the log house, where the lively fiddle promoted sociability, health and courage. Let us again hear the summons to rhythmic feet: *"Salute Your Partners! Grand Right and Left!" all chassez; do-si-do! "Cross Over!" Ladies in the Center and Gents All Around! "Swing Your Partners!"* and so on to the merry end. Oh, you "social workers," "settlement uplifters," advocates of "folk-dancing," prophets of "playgrounds," missionaries of "wholesome amusement," do something to save us from the inanities of nice dancing aside for they represented a worthy cause and one deadly stupidity.

## Wilson in Chicago

Experienced policemen say that the "demonstration" in connection with Wilson's visit of last week was perhaps the largest thing of the kind ever experienced in Chicago. The earnestness displayed perhaps is the nearest approach to the high exaltation realized in the Douglas-Lincoln hustings of 1858 yet reached since those days by the citizens of Illinois. The crowd was tremendous, the jam was persistent, but there was a minimum of the carousing element in it. The present

writer was caught in the jam that surged against the closed doors of Dexter Pavilion at the Stockyards waiting for a chance to jam in to hear the evening's address. Humanity was packed solid, away out into the street, interrupting the passage of the Halsted Street railway cars. Women and children of all ages and degree of vigor swayed and surged, but there was no coarseness, little profanity, and that of the good natured kind. There was no breath tainted with liquor, no evidence of intoxication in sight, and once inside, the immense auditorium, holding from 18,000 to 20,000 people, was promptly filled to the rafters. The "newly-made citizen," meager of English, mingled with the millionaires and ladies famed for leadership good-naturedly strove for a chance to see and hear. It was democracy in action from beginning to end, and the President was equal to the occasion. There was no slur at rivals; no personal reflections, but with high academic dignity he delivered his message in terse phrase and in tones that carried to the farthest limits which a well-trained voice could reach.

So far as reported in the newspapers, there was but one incident to mar the beauty of a holiday in the interest of ideas. A certain number of women, displaying more zeal than judgment, planted themselves on the avenue where the President must needs pass, with a line of banners and mottoes the purport of which was: "Do not vote for Wilson!" "He's against the women!" and similar explosive displays. Later in the day, when the crowd grew into a mass, these mottoes were absorbed, over-run, or otherwise dismissed. The action of the women was a manifestation of bad taste; the action of those who removed the obnoxious placards—men and women—was a matter of bad morals. The banner-bearers were guilty of poor manners; the others, their opponents, were caught violating, not the courtesies, but the rights of others. The spirit behind both parties was not commendable. The word "heckling," and the thing back of it, is a recent importation from England. It is a transference of the tactics and the spirit of the *suffragettes,* a disposition to violate good manners and good laws in the interests of a "cause!" There is little room for such in America, and less reason. Women seeking the ballot ought not to queer their case by forgetting the graces which, spite of their disadvantages before the law, they have acquired. There are courtesies that hold good, even in a political campaign, and "if you please," and "thank you, sir," are valuable accomplishments in a political campaign for both men and women. We deplore the lack of manners in the banner-bearers. We condemn the lack of morals on the part of those who ill-naturedly brushed them aside for they represented a worthy cause and one deserving respect.

## A Reply to An Open Letter

Mr. Gifford Pinchot,
Milford, Pike Co.,
Pennsylvania.

Dear Mr. Pinchot:

Your letter under date of September 7, addressed to me as Editor of UNITY, setting forth the reasons for your choice of presidential candidate with the request that I lay the same before my readers, has lain upon my table these many days and has been read many times. Your eminent leadership, which I have been glad to follow, your evident frankness and sincerity, and the solemn issues involved, have commanded my thoughtful attention and at last called forth this reply, which is due to you and perhaps to my readers for whom I have ever frankly worn my heart upon my sleeve. But, above all, it is due to the great causes which we all have at heart.

Like yourself, I am "neither Democrat nor Republican," and have not been for many years, though I cast my first vote for Abraham Lincoln, second term, on the battle line in Mississippi, in a ballot box resting on an artillery caisson. I, too, claim to be a "progressive," though I never could wear that party badge because it used a twelve-inch rule in measuring its progress instead of a surveyor's chain, which was needed. It flinched and went wrong on what seemed to me to be two great profound issues in modern civilization, namely: The abolition, not the amelioration, of war, and the elimination of racial injustice. A "Progressive Party" that followed a belligerent leader, the champion of the "big stick," and that failed to stand aggressively for the rights of the colored man vouchsafed by the constitution in all sections of the country, bargained, as I think, for the speedy demoralization that has overtaken it.

Further, I, like you, have had my disappointments in the Wilson administration. I was sorry he lent himself to the senseless fuss about the "21-gun salute" to the flag as an adequate cause for the foolish mobilization of troops and ships and the occupation of Vera Cruz. The pursuit of Villa and the costly mobilization of the National Guard on the Mexican border were, to my thinking, as unnecessary as they have been inefficient. I was both surprised and distressed at the final stampede of Congress for its, to me, unspeakably extravagant naval appropriation and its dream of an impossible standing army. It can only be explained as political expediency, and both parties quarrel like two drowning men fighting for a plank in deep water, as to which should receive the credit. But you know better than I can know the subtle pressures and the fierce contentions that are known only to the politicians behind the scenes. I cannot enter into the perplexities and conflicting interests that beset a President. But over against these mistakes, as they seem to me, the responsibility for which is hard to place, stand the unquestioned, very important, triumphs of Mr. Wilson enumerated by Dr. Eliot. He has stood unequivocally and effectively against war and its atrocities, and we have been kept out of the terrible embroglio in spite of the constant clamor of influential papers and politicians. For this I believe history will give him large praise. The hundred and two American lives lost by the sinking of the Lusitania could not have been called back by

sacrificing thousands of other innocent lives and the wasting of millions of property. The dignity of the United States could not have been maintained by the slaughter of more innocents. National honor is not established by the code of the ring. The standards of dignity for a democracy are those of the true gentleman. "No gentleman will insult me, no other can."

In response to the oft vaunted challenge of "What would you do if some one insulted your wife?" I reply, "I do not know, but I do know that I ought not to indicate my valiant loyalty by going out and finding some other man's wife and visiting upon her a like insult."

Because I think there is always an honorable way out of war, which is always dishonorable, and because I believe it is the opportunity and duty of the United States to lead in the pacification of the world, a duty which in this tremendous emergency is pre-eminent, I am going to vote for the scholar, the thinker, the cosmopolitan in the White House, who has done so much to counteract the mad belligerency that has betrayed twentieth century civilization, exposed the superficiality of our "Christian" professions. This war is the awful harvest that comes from the vicious seed sown by the philosophers who teach that the final court of appeal in settling the disputes between nations is force, a method which has long been abolished in settling quarrels between individuals.

You call attention in your letter to the contradictions in Wilson's administration. Granted. David Starr Jordan well says: "No captain can steer a straight course through a rock strewn harbor." And when it comes to this, "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone." Politics never made stranger bed-fellows than those who are now trying to adjust themselves to the Republican cot.

You say you believe in "nationalism." This is a catchy word with a dangerous connotation. The word of this century, the word of science, art and religion, is internationalism. "He knows no language who knows but one," is the dictum of the schools. By the same token we can say, "He loves no country who loves but one." The "safety, honor and welfare" of our country are inseparably connected with the safety, honor and welfare of all countries.

It is to me a cause of great humiliation that our country should gloat over a "prosperity" produced by the manufacture of munitions of war on the part of individuals, regardless as to what limbs are to be shredded or what homes are to be shattered by the devilish output. My experience, during my recent trip abroad, does not justify your suspicion that "We are without a friend among the great nations of the world." The bleeding heart of Europe turns toward America. The war lords and munition makers, crowned heads and sword bearers, may despise us,—a gracious compliment, that,—but the people, the home makers, and I have reason to believe, the patient men in the trenches, the poets and the philosophers, the men of science and men of religion, will love and praise increasingly those who have kept their faith in brotherhood and have set their faces unflinchingly against war, which is the "sum of all villainies."

Whatever the faults of President Wilson may be, he has maintained the academic dignity of a man of thought. If not through his word and work, then through those of his rivals, he has brought the eight-hour day to the front and greatly accelerated its advance. He has lifted the child of the cotton mills and elsewhere out of its crippling slavery. He has incurred the displeasure and distrust of the capitalistic crowds who know of no higher appeal to the American voter than the argument of a "full dinner pail," and who, in the face of these high issues, are striving to inject into the campaign the obsolete clamor of "tariff protection," which as a political party issue is an addled egg in a last year's bird's nest. The intelligent in all parties agree that tariff intricacies can only be settled by a non-partisan commission of experts devoting themselves perpetually to the study of the problems involved.

These are some of the reasons why I, an Independent like yourself, and a would-be progressive in American politics, am induced to vote for Woodrow Wilson for our next President.

Very cordially and with great respect,

JENKIN LLOYD JONES.

*Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago, Oct. 23, 1916.*

## An Independent's View of Wilson

[Not only the fact that Mr. William Kent is the only Independent in the House of Representatives, but his long and intimate relations with UNITY, justify the publication in this column of his recent comment upon President Wilson. Mr. Kent's head and hand not only steadied UNITY through the most critical years of its life, but he was a prime factor in the movement that resulted in the erection of the Abraham Lincoln Centre and the elevation of Chicago politics.—ED.]

It is a matter of deep regret to anyone who studies economics and believes in peace to realize that the madness of the world compels some reversions to protectionism. For the bald theory of protection means commercial war, and commercial war tends and leads toward physical combat, and thus there is danger of traveling in a vicious circle. For this reason, if peace and good will are to rule between nations, tariff adjustments should be intrusted to those who realize the axiom of economics that both parties may gain by trade, rather than to those who believe that the purchase of commodities from another nation spells out injury to the nation purchasing.

The arguments in favor of Mr. Hughes remain to be put forward. The whole campaign is based upon criticism of the incumbent. It is an attempt to torture out of shape and proportion every issue that can be brought up and to blame President Wilson for any delinquencies that may appear in the splendid legislative record of the last four years; to condemn him for leadership and at the same time to promise that Mr. Hughes will be more of a leader in the sense of forcing Congress to do his will.

There is much that is cruel and disloyal in the partisan bitterness that lays added burdens upon the back of a great man struggling in a terrible world crisis to save the country from the torment of war, and who is at the same time holding up the lamp of progress.

In a world blighted by the insanity of war, we among the great nations are practically at peace. Throughout the turmoil and the stress incident to the greatest of human crimes President Wilson has pursued the path of constructive work looking toward better economic conditions for the average of our people as found in increased and cheapened production and distribution, and a more equal sharing of what our country and our people can furnish to all.

The grasp that the President has shown on the vital need of preserving the country's transportation against the dangers of stoppage arising from difference between employers and employes, is but the beginning of a constructive program that will prevent the possibility of the nation's arteries being clogged.

Things do not do themselves, and in our harum scarum system of government there has always been need for leadership by the President despite the fiction of the complete divorcement of the powers of the executive and legislative and judicial bodies. Those complaining most bitterly of the President's having taken the lead at a time when leadership was necessary, promise with glibness that Hughes, if elected, will do as much or more in the same line.

* * * *

Whenever the President has made important appointments they have been of such a sort as to have incurred the enmity of those opposed to progress, those looking behind themselves for light and leading.

## War and the Loss of Love

We have heard so much about the failure of Christianity to prevent the war. How about the failure of Christianity to end the war?

We have been told that the effete state churches of Europe are so subservient to the state that they were unable to resist the militaristic forces, but rather acted as spiritual feeders of militarism. How about the American churches? Militarism is in full swing in our country. Have the churches had the moral insight to see through the fog and poison fumes created by popular passion and the intrigues of selfish interests? Have they been the rallying points of soberness and good will, or are they helping to whoop up war enthusiasm? I do not know. I am asking.

The worst thing about the war is not the loss of life. A great earthquake or plague might have killed an equal number, and might have left the world locked in a closer fraternity through a great common grief. The worst thing is not the loss of life, but the loss of love. As the war spirit spread, humanity slipped suddenly from the kingdom of heaven into the kingdom of hell.

That is where we are now living, with apparently no power to climb back.

This reign of hate concerns Christianity more than anything else about the war. Christianity is based on love as the supreme law. As long as we love, we are on the way to salvation and all will come right. As long as we hate, we are on the way of damnation, and all will go wrong. What are the functions of Christianity in a world drugged and crazy with hate? What would be the functions of Christianity if all the dry territory in our country should become wet, and if drunkenness should be preached and praised as a virtue and duty?

The hate accompanying war is partly spontaneous, and partly artificial. When a man throws his body into a fighting attitude, fighting feelings surge up. The same with a nation. That fighting anger disappears as naturally as it arises. It is another matter when hate is manufactured by the most powerful social agencies and injected into the social body to induce fighting fury. Hate is the most necessary and valuable of all war munitions, and the most deadly product of this war.

If we have cut our political wisdom teeth, we know that in our local politicial contests the issues given out for the voters are usually mere brass tom-toms beaten to rally them to their party. The real issues are often wholly different, and are carefully screened from public view. This is far more true in regard to war. Most wars are fought for issues so selfish and sordid that, if they were plainly stated, the people would take no interest in fighting for them, and would be more inclined to hang some of the wealthiest and most powerful citizens for treason. Therefore nobler issues have to be created to arouse the moral passions of the masses. They must be assured that they are fighting for the great spiritual possessions of humanity, for liberty, for the rights of the downtrodden, for the safe development of civilization, and so forth. The devil cannot get the masses to follow him under the black banner of predatory covetousness. He must tear some patches from the white banner of the kingdom of God, and hoist them for men to see.

If the Almighty had determined to furnish us a small working model of militarism, in which we could see all its mingling of noble devotion and covetous intrigue, and the working of the lie-factory, he could have done no better for us than to furnish us the Mexican embroilment.

*Rochester, N. Y.* —*Walter Rauschenbusch.*

*From the Standard.*

### ALL SOUL'S DAY.

Within the church on All Soul's Day
I knelt with those uncomforted,
Who bowed their weary heads to pray
Their sad prayers for the happy dead.

We, with the sting of tears still hot
Upon our faces, prayed for those
Who have forgot all tears, forgot
The long passed pageant of old woes.

We of the anxious soul and brain
Prayed peace for those who ever dwell
In that great calm that follows pain,
Safe-housed in God's white citadel.

O, futile, tender mockery!
We, hampered, fettered in the strife;
To pray for those glad souls made free
Of the great burden that is life.

Dear God, another prayer I said;
Humbly I asked who might not give:
Pray ye for us, thrice happy dead
For us who live,—for us who live.

—*Theodosia Garrison.*

October has no butterflies, and so she told Jack Frost
To make a million right away, no matter what it cost.
So Jack Frost painted all the leaves a lovely red and brown,
And then he shook the branches hard and made them flutter down.

—*Richard Kirk.*

## CORRESPONDENCE

### In the Steel Mills

(*See Editorial Note, Page 121.*)

Valparaiso, Ind., Oct. 5, 1916.

An Open Letter to the Management of the Illinois Steel Company, Gary Works, Ind.:

Gentlemen: Beginning during my summer vacation, for the last six weeks, I have worked as an employe of the steel mill in the by-products building at the coke plant. I became tremendously interested in what I had to do and in what I saw and heard.

My purpose in undertaking this work was to replete my purse, to reduce weight and girth, to make a new circle of friends and acquaintances, to gain first-hand knowledge of a concrete industrial situation.

Frankly, I went to Gary at least mildly prejudiced against the steel corporation; but my prejudices have been considerably dissipated by my experiences.

The first pleasant surprise for me was the cheery good-will with which I was greeted by the men and by the minor officials with whom I came in contact. Many of the men were rough in their words and unpolished in their manners; but despite this, instead of the "Safety First," painted everywhere about the buildings, there was the even more beautiful motto, "Kindness First," written upon the tablets of their hearts.

There was courtesy everywhere. Consideration of the men was shown by the constant emphasis upon safety; by provision for comfort, such as lockers, lavatories, shower baths; by the absence of arbitrariness or driving in the performance of the work; by the maintenance of the hospital; by the encouragement of the foreigner and others to make use of educational advantages and to gain larger technical knowledge.

Wages are good. At least for a green hand like myself to go in and earn $3 a day seemed encouraging. With the mounting cost of living, it may be speedily necessary for the steel mills to raise the remuneration of its employes; and with the exceeding great prosperity of the company such a raise, even now, might be just and fair. But I found among the men absolutely no sullenness as of the ill-treated or underpaid.

The work at the coke plant is dirty and dangerous. My co-worker, Mike Sofilos, said of my employment in Valparaiso:

"You gotta good job; it's more so—when you no have to clean 'em up."

During the days of my service a switchman was killed in the yards, a worker was electrocuted—in contact with a third rail, and a boy's eyes were blinded with acid.

Much has been done to make working conditions tolerable. More can be done and ought to be done. But much of the work is almost necessarily unpleasant and risky, and for this it is not altogether fair to blame anybody. Somebody has to carry the smutty end of the log. I am glad that the steel company is trying to be good to the men who do the mean work; but I want to appeal to you to be even better every way that you can.

The one cause of genuine complaint that I heard of among the men was as to the long hours. Twelve hours per day, six and a half days per week, is too much for anybody to be tied to anything—and the men think so.

There are men about the mills who have the eight-hour day and the ten-hour day, but many are on duty twelve hours. With the time for coming and going, these men are held from home and personal interests on an average of near fourteen hours per day. With time deducted for sleep, they are left with two hours to be men, to cultivate human interests, to make love to wife and sweetheart, to play with their children, to learn to be good citizens and to take part in public affairs, and to know something of the fun and interests of the big world beyond.

You can fix this matter of the hours if you will, and I trust that they will not stay fixed as they are. The consideration shown in other ways convinces me that after no long time these men will be granted right hours of service.

With very great interest I look forward to the possibility of spending my next "vacation" as a worker at the steel mills.

Sincerely yours,

*John W. Newsom.*

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October 20, 1916.

Editor UNITY,
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Sir:

May I explain how it happened that the Woman Suffrage plank in the Socialist platform was omitted from the list of party platform planks printed on a leaflet by the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association. The leaflet was printed almost immediately after the national conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties. We could not lay our hands on the Socialist plank at that moment, so a few slips were printed for immediate distribution. Shortly afterwards twenty thousand were printed and these included the Socialist as well as all other party declarations in relation to woman suffrage. I did not think that any of those few earlier ones were still being distributed, and especially regret that such a one chanced to fall into the hands of UNITY.

The Socialists have, from the beginning, been our good friends, and we wish always to give full credit for their cordial support for our cause. Will you kindly print this explanation.

Very truly yours,
THEODORA W. YOUMANS,
President.

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### A PRAYER.

Until I lose my soul and lie
Blind to the beauty of the earth,
Deaf tho' a lyric wind goes by,
Dumb in a storm of mirth;

Until my heart is quenched at length
And I have left the land of men,
Oh let me love with all my strength
Careless if I am loved again.

*—Sara Teasdale.*

*From "Rivers to the Sea."*

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He is no true lover of the woods who ceases to go to them when the leaves have dropped away. I would know my friends in their adversity and hardihood.

*—Edith M. Thomas.*

# WHO ARE THE WAR MAKERS?

(*See Note First Page*)

THE EFFORTS DIRECTED TOWARD THE ABOLITION OF WAR MUST BE TERMED NOT ONLY FOOLISH BUT ABSOLUTELY IMMORAL.—*Bernhardi.*

NO TRIUMPH OF PEACE IS QUITE SO GREAT AS THE SUPREME TRIUMPHS OF WAR.—*Roosevelt.*

FORCE WILL NOT ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING THAT IS PERMANENT. PEACE IS THE HEALING AND ELEVATING INFLUENCE OF THE WORLD AND FORCE IS NOT.—*Wilson.*

## PART I.—THE DANGERS OF PEACE

### The Peace Movement is Destroying the National Character

#### BERNHARDI

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 9.)

The value of war for the political and moral development of mankind has been criticised by large sections of the modern civilized world in a way **which threatens to weaken the defensive powers of states by undermining the warlike spirit of the people.** Such ideas are widely disseminated in Germany and whole strata of our nation seem to have **lost that ideal enthusiasm** which constituted the greatness of its history.

#### ROOSEVELT

(*Fear God and Take Your Own Part, pages* 167-8.)

**It is the literal truth to say that this peace-at-any-price propaganda had probably, on the whole, worked more mischief to the United States than all the crookedness in business and politics combined during the same period. It has represented more positive deterioration in the American character.**

(*Fear God and Take Your Own Part, pages* 175-6.)

Not the smallest particle of good has come from the peace propaganda of the last ten years as carried on in America. Literally, this agitation of the professional pacifists during these ten years has not represented the smallest advance toward securing the peace of righteousness. **It has, on the other hand, represented a very considerable and real deterioration in the American character.** I do not think it is a permanent deterioration. I think that we shall recover and become heartily **ashamed of our lapse from virile manliness. But there has been a distinct degeneracy in the moral fiber of our people owing to this peace propaganda, a distinct increase in moral flabbiness,** a distinct increase in hysteria and sentimental untruthfulness.

#### WILSON

(*New York Press Club, June* 30, 1916.)

**The easiest thing is to strike. The brutal thing is the impulsive thing. No man has to think before he takes aggressive action;** but before a man really conserves the honor by realizing the ideals of the nation, he has to think exactly what he will do and how he will do it.

(*New York Press Club, June* 30, 1916.)

We have the evidence of a very competent witness, namely, the first Napoleon, who said as he looked back in the last days of his life upon so much as he knew of human history, that he had to record the judgment that **force had never accomplished anything that was permanent.**

**Force will not accomplish anything that is permanent.**

(*D. A. R. Convention, October* 11, 1915, *page* 7.)

I should not feel proud to be in some respects and for a little while her (America's) spokesman if I did not believe that there was something else than physical force behind her. I believe that the glory of America is that she is a great spiritual conception and that in the spirit of her institutions dwells not only her distinction but her power. **The one thing that the world cannot permanently resist is the moral force of great and triumphant convictions.**

### The People Are Too "Peace Loving"

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 10.)

In striking contrast to this military aptitude, they (the German people) have today become a peace-loving—an almost "too" peace-loving—nation. **A rude shock is needed to awaken their warlike instincts and compel them to show their military strength.**

This strongly marked love of peace is due to various causes.

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 14.)

From this standpoint I must first of all examine **the aspirations for peace,** which seem to dominate our age and **threaten to poison the soul of the German people,** according to their

(*American Ideals, National Life and Character,* 1894, *page* 290.)

**There are sections of Europe and sections of the United States where we now tend to pay heed exclusively to the peaceful virtues and to develop only a race of merchants, lawyers and professors, who will lack the virile qualities that have made our race great and splendid.**

(*American Ideals. The Monroe Doctrine,* 1896, *page* 232.)

No nation can achieve real greatness if its people are not both essentially moral and essentially manly; both sets of qualities are necessary. **It is an**

(*Address at the Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, September* 4, 1914, *page* 8.)

**The way to success in this great country, with its fair judgments, is to show that you are not afraid of anybody except God and his final verdict.** If I did not believe that, I would not believe in democracy. If I did not believe that, I would not believe that people can govern themselves. **If I did not believe that the moral judgment would be the last judgment, the final judgment, in the minds of men as well as the tribunal of God,** I could not believe in popular government. But I do believe these

## BERNHARDI

true moral significance. I must try to prove that war is not merely a necessary element in the life of nations, but an indispensable factor of culture, in which a true civilized nation finds the highest expression of strength and vitality.

## ROOSEVELT

**admirable thing to possess refinement and cultivation, but the price is too dear if they must be paid for at the cost of the rugged fighting qualities** which make a man able to do a man's work in the world, and which makes his heart beat with that kind of love of country which is shown not only in readiness to try to make her civic life better, but also to stand up manfully for her when her honor and influence are at stake in a dispute with a foreign power.

## WILSON

things, and therefore I earnestly believe in the democracy not only of America, but of every awakened people that wishes and intends to govern and control its own affairs.

(*New York Federation of Churches, January 27*, 1916.)

**In my efforts for peace I have been conscious of representing the spirit of America and no private convictions merely of my own.** It is hard to hold the balance even where so many passions are involved, but I have known that in their hearts and by their purposes the people of America were seeking to hold the balance even.

## Peace: A Danger to the "Virile," "Manly" Virtues

(*Germany and the Next War, pages* 34 *to* 35.)

So, too, when men lose the capacity of gladly sacrificing the highest material blessings—life, health, property and comfort—for ideals; for the maintenance of national character and political independence; for the expansion of sovereignty and territory in the interest of the national welfare; for the honor of the flag as typical of their own worth—then progressive development is broken off, decadence is inevitable, and ruin at home and abroad is only a question of time. History speaks with no uncertain voice on this subject. It shows that **valor is a necessary condition of progress.** Where with growing civilization and increasing material prosperity war ceases, military efficiency diminishes, and the resolution to maintain independence under all circumstances fails, there the nations are approaching their downfall and cannot hold their own politically or racially.

These efforts for peace would, if they attained their goal, not merely lead to general degeneration, as happens everywhere in Nature where the struggle for existence is eliminated, but **they have a direct damaging and unnerving affect.** The apostles of peace draw large sections of a nation into the spell of their Utopian efforts, and they thus introduce an element of weakness into the national life; **they cripple the justifiable national pride in independence and support a nerveless opportunist policy by surrounding it with the glamour of a higher humanity, and by offering it spacious reasons for disguising its own weakness.**

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 18.)

This aspiration is directly antagonistic to the great universal laws which rule all life. War is a biological necessity of the first importance, a regulative element in the life of mankind which cannot be dispensed with, **since without it an unhealthy development will follow, which excludes every advancement** of the race, and therefore all real civilization.

(*African and European Addresses—The World Peace, May* 5, 1910, *page* 77.)

No nation deserves to exist if it permits itself to lose the stern and virile virtues; and this without regard to whether the loss is due to the growth of a heartless and all absorbing commercialism, to prolonged indulgence in luxury and soft effortless ease, or to the deification of a warped and twisted sentimentality.

(*African and European Addresses—The World Movement, Berlin, May* 12, 1910, *page* 125.)

One of the prime dangers of civilization has always been its tendency to cause the loss of virile fighting virtues, of the fighting edge. When men get too comfortable and lead too luxurious lives, there is always danger lest the softness eat like an acid into their manliness of fiber.

(*American Ideal—Washington's Forgotten Maxim, page* 260.)

There are higher things in this life than the soft and easy enjoyment of comfort. **It is through strife or the readiness for strife that a nation must win greatness.** We ask for a great navy, partly because we think that the possession of such a navy is the surest guarantee of peace, and partly because we feel that **no national life is worth having if the nation is not willing,** when the need shall arise, **to stake everything on the supreme arbitrament of war,** and to pour out its blood, its treasure, and its tears like water, rather than submit to the loss of honor and renown.

(*New York Federation of Churches, January 27*, 1916.)

**Peace does not mean inaction. There may be infinite activity; there may be almost violent activity in the midst of peace.** Peace dwells after all, in the character and in the heart, and that is where peace is rooted in this blessed country of ours. It is rooted in the hearts of the people. Peace is inconsistent with the loss of self respect. More than that, peace is inconsistent with the abandonment of principle.

(*Universal Peace Union, Philadelphia, February* 18, 1912.)

The peace movement should not be so much a protest against the clash of elements as a protest against the causes of warfare. I do not object to war because it is cruel and unjust, but because it is a clumsy and brutal instrument to get at justice. . . . **America started right with a declaration addressed to a "decent respect for the opinions of mankind." It is necessary that we get back to that fundamental belief. As soon as we are just to the people of the United States, we will be in a position to be an instrument for Universal Peace.**

(*Naval Academy, Annapolis, June* 5, 1914, *page* 4.)

**The point of view of America with regard to her navy and her army (is) that she is using them as the instruments of civilization, not as the instruments of aggression.** The idea of America is to serve humanity, and every time you let the stars and stripes free to the wind you ought to realize that that is in itself a message that you are on an errand which other navies have sometimes forgotten; not an errand of conquest.

## Peace Advocates Are Selfish Hypocrites—"Foolish" and "Immoral"

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 32.)

The agitation for peace introduces a new element of weakness, dissension and indecision into the divi-

(*Fear God and Take Your Own Part, pages* 191-2.)

Sometimes these professional pacifists preach such cowardice openly.

(*United States Naval Academy, June* 5, 1914, *page* 6.)

**Have men not fought ever since the world began? Is there anything new in**

## BERNHARDI

sions of our national party life.

It is indisputable that many supporters of these ideals sincerely believe in the possibility of their realization, and are convinced that the general good is being advanced by them. Equally true is it, however, that **this peace movement is often simply used to mask intensely selfish political projects. Its apparent humanitarian idealism constitutes its danger.**

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 34.)

If we sum up our arguments we shall see that, from the most opposite aspects, the efforts directed towards the abolition of war must **not only be termed foolish but absolutely immoral,** and must be stigmatized as unworthy of the human race.

## ROOSEVELT

At other times **they preach the utter flabbiness and feebleness, moral and physical, which inevitably breeds cowardice.** It is a dreadful thing to think that in the event of war brave men would have to shed their blood; it is a worse thing to think that these feeble folk would purchase their own ignoble safety by the blood of others. . . . The men and the women guilty of such preaching and such practice are thoroughly bad citizens. The worst of them, of course, are those in the colleges, and those who profess to speak for the colleges; for to them much has been given and from them much should be expected. **The college boys who adopt the professional pacifist views, who make peace leagues and preach the doctrines of international cowardice,** are unfitting themselves for any career more manly than that of a nursemaid. A grown-up of the professional pacifist type is not an impressive figure; but **the college boy who deliberately elects to be a "sissy"** should be replaced in the nursery and spanked.

(*Fear God and Take Your Own Part, pages* 63 *and* 64.)

Timid and lazy men, men absorbed in money-getting, men absorbed in ease and luxury, and all slothful and soft people naturally hail with delight anybody who will give them high-sounding names, behind which to cloak their unwillingness to run risks or to toil and endure. Emotional philanthropists to whom thinking is a distasteful form of mental exercise enthusiastically champion this attitude. **The faults of all these men and women are of a highly non-militaristic and unwarlike type;** and naturally they feel great satisfaction in condemning misdeeds which are incident to lives that they would themselves be wholly unable to undergo. These men and women are delighted to pass resolutions in favor of anything with a lofty name, provided always no demand is ever made upon them to pay with their bodies to even the smallest degree in order to give effect to these lofty sentiments. **It is questionable whether in the long run they do not form a less desirable national type than is formed by men who are guilty of the downright iniquities of life; for the latter at least have in them elements of strength which if guided aright, could be used to good purpose.**

## WILSON

**using force? The new things in the world are the things that are divorced from force. The things that show the moral compulsions of the human conscience, those are the things by which we have been building up civilization; not by force.**

(*New York Press Club, June* 30, 1916.)

Do you think that the glory of America would be enhanced by a war of conquest in Mexico? Do you think that any act of violence by a powerful nation like this against a weak and distracted neighbor would reflect distinction upon the United States?

Do you think that it is our duty to carry self-defense to the point of dictation in the affairs of another people? The ideals of America are written plain upon every page of American history.

And I want you to realize how fully I know whose servant I am. I do not own the government of the United States, even for the time being. I have no right in the use of it to express my own passions.

**And I have constantly to remind myself that I am not the servant of those who wish to enhance the value of their Mexican investments, but that I am the servant of the rank and file of the people of the United States.**

I get a great many letters; I get letters from unknown men, from humble women, from people whose names have never been heard and will never be recorded, and there is but one prayer in all these letters: "Mr. President, keep out of Mexico." And if one man has said that to me, a thousand have said it to me as I have moved about the country.

I am for the time being the spokesman of such people. **I have not read history without observing that the greatest forces of the world and the only permanent forces are the moral forces.**

(*Des Moines Address, February* 1, 1916.)

I have spent every thought and energy that has been vouchsafed me in order to keep this country out of war. It cannot be disclosed now, perhaps it never can be disclosed, how anxious and how difficult the task has been, but my heart has been in it. I have not grudged a single burden that has been thrown upon me with that end in view, for I knew that **not only my own heart but the heart of all America was in the cause of peace.**

## Down with Arbitration

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 34.)

It is proposed to obviate the great quarrels between nations and states by courts of arbitration—that is, by arrangements. A one-sided, restricted, formal law is to be established in the place of the decisions of history. The weak nation is to have the same right to live as the powerful and vigorous nation. The whole idea represents a presumptuous encroachment on the natural laws of development which can only lead to the most disastrous consequences for humanity generally.

(*Fear God and Take Your Own Part, pages* 169-170.)

The deification of peace without regard to whether it is either wise or righteous does not represent virtue. It represents a peculiarly base and ignoble form of evil. For this reason it is a positive detriment to international morality for any man to take part in any of these universal peace-at-any-price or **all inclusive arbitration movements.** Nor is this all. A movement right in itself may be all wrong if made at the wrong time. **Even the proposal for a world peace of righteousness, based on force being put**

(*In Christian Herald, September*, 1911.)

**I consider the agitation for international arbitration and world peace a deep-seated and permanent thing, representing the fixed and universal desire of the human heart.**

(*Topeka Address, February* 2, 1916.)

There are all sorts of people in the United States, and there are people who think that we ought to use the force of the United States to get everything we can get with it. But you do not think that, and I do not think that, and not one American in a thousand thinks that. **We would use**

## BERNHARDI

## ROOSEVELT

**back of righteousness, is inopportune at this time.**

There are far more pressing and immediate duties. First and foremost, the United States must seriously prepare itself against war, and show itself able to maintain its rights and make its weight felt in the world. Next, it must abandon both the **policy of poltroonery**—the policy we have practiced as regards the Lusitania and Mexico—and the policy of recklessly making promises which neither can nor ought to be kept—the **policy we practiced in the proposed all-inclusive arbitration treaties five years ago, and, above all, in the unspeakably silly and wicked thirty all-inclusive arbitration-commission treaties actually negotiated under the present administration.**

## WILSON

**this force, not to carry out any policy that even smacked of aggression of any kind, because this nation loves peace more than it loves anything else except honor.**

# PART II.

## Nationalism is the Supreme Ideal

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 46.)

The individual must sacrifice himself for the higher community of which he is a member; but the State is itself the highest conception in the wider community of man, and therefore the duty of self-annihilation does not enter into the case. **The Christian duty of sacrifice for something higher does not exist for the State,** for there is nothing higher than it in the world's history; consequently it cannot sacrifice itself to something higher. When a State sees its downfall staring it in the face, we applaud if it succumbs sword in hand. A sacrifice made to an alien nation not only is immoral, but contradicts the idea of self-preservation, which is the highest ideal of a State.

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 25.)

To expand the idea of the State into that of humanity, and thus to entrust apparently higher duties to the individual, leads to error, since in a human race conceived as a whole struggle and, by implication, the most essential vital principle would be ruled out. **Any action in favor of collective humanity outside the limits of the State and nationality is impossible.** Such conceptions belong to the wide domain of Utopias.

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 115.)

Germany has great national and historical duties of policy and culture to fulfill, and her path towards further progress is threatened by formidable enmities. If we realize this, we shall see that it will be impossible to maintain our present position and secure our future without an appeal to arms.

(*American Ideals. The Monroe Doctrine. The Bachelor of Arts. March,* 1896, *pages* 225 *and* 226.)

The useful member of the brotherhood of nations is that nation **which is most thoroughly saturated with the national idea,** and which realizes most fully its rights as a nation and its duties to its own citizens.

(*Fear God and Take Your Own Part, page* 18.)

The man who loves other nations as much as he does his own, stands on a par with the man who loves other women as much as he does his own wife. The United States can accomplish little for mankind, save insofar as within its borders it develops an intense spirit of Americanism. **A flabby cosmopolitanism, especially if it expresses itself through a flabby pacifism, is not only silly, but degrading. It represents national emasculation.**

(*D. A. R. Address, Washington, D. C., October* 11, 1915, *page* 5.)

We are not trying to keep out of trouble; we are trying to preserve the foundations upon which peace can be rebuilt. Peace can be rebuilt only upon the ancient and accepted principles of international law, only upon those things which **remind nations of their duties to each other, and deeper than that, of their duties to mankind and to humanity.**

(*Convention Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., May* 10, 1915.)

My urgent advice to you would be, not only always to think first of America, but **always, also, to think first of humanity.**

(*Joint Session of Congress, December* 7, 1915, *page* 6.)

We do not confine our enthusiasm for individual liberty and free national development to the incidents and movements of affairs which affect only ourselves. We feel it wherever there is a people that tries to walk in these difficult paths of independence and right. From the first we have made common cause with the partisans of liberty on this side of the sea, and have deemed it as important that our neighbors should be free from all outside domination as that we ourselves should be; have set America aside as a whole for the uses of independent nations and political freemen.

(*Address at Arlington National Cemetery, May* 30, 1916.)

**What are the purposes of America? We are not going to devote our nationality to the same mistaken, aggressive purposes that some other nationalities have been devoted to;** because we are made up, and consciously made up, out of all the great family of mankind, **we are champions of the rights of mankind.** We are not only ready to co-operate, but we are ready to fight against any aggression, whether from without or from within. But we must guard ourselves against the sort of aggression which would be unworthy of America. We are ready

| BERNHARDI | ROOSEVELT | WILSON |
|---|---|---|
| | | to fight for our rights when those rights are coincident with the rights of man and of humanity. It was to set these rights up, to vindicate them, that America was created and her government set up. **We have kept our doors open because we did not think we in conscience could close them against men who wanted to join their force with ours in vindicating the claim of mankind to liberty and justice.** |

## PART IV.

### All Other Nations Are Dishonest and Untrustworthy

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 10.)

Our aim is to be just, and **we strangely imagine that all other nations with whom we exchange relations share this aim. We are always ready to consider the peaceful assurances of foreign diplomacy and of the foreign press to be no less genuine than our own ideas of peace, and we obstinately resist the view that the political world is only ruled by interests and never from ideal aims of philanthropy.** "Justice," Goethe says aptly, "is a quality and a phantom of the Germans. We are always inclined to assume that disputes between states can find a peaceful solution on the basis of justice without clearly realizing what **international** justice is."

(*Fear God and Take Your Own Part, page* 216.)

What is happening in this year 1916 shows that not the slightest particle of advance in international morality has been made during the century that has elapsed since the close of the Napoleonic wars.

(*Fear God and Take Your Own Part, page* 222.)

Germany stands as the antithesis of democracy. She exults in her belief that in England democracy has broken down. She exults in the fact that in America democracy has shown itself so utterly futile that it has not even dared to speak about wrongdoing committed against others, and has not dared to do more than speak, without acting, when the wrong was done against itself.

(*Dexter Pavilion, October* 19, 1916.)

. . . To maintain the traditions of the republic, which were that all men, everywhere, should know that here was a place where men who desire justice and freedom were welcome to come, and, having come, would be received as real brothers in the common enterprise which was for the interest of all men of every kind.

(*Indianapolis, Ind., January* 8, 1915.)

**Our Future.** And what a future it is, my friends! Look abroad upon the troubled world! Only America at peace! Among all the great powers of the world only America saving her power for her own people! Only America using her great character and her great strength in the interests of peace and of prosperity! Do you not think it likely that the world will sometime turn to America and say, "You were right and we were wrong. You kept your head and we lost ours. You tried to keep the scale from tipping, and we threw the whole weight of our arms in one side of the scale. Now, in your self-possession, in your coolness, in your strength, may we not turn to you for counsel and for assistance?" Think of the deep wrought destruction of economic resources, of life, and of hope that is taking place in some parts of the world, and think of the reservoir of hope, the reservoir of energy, the reservoir of sustenance that there is in this great land of plenty! May we not look forward to the time when we shall be called blessed among the nations, because we succored the nations of the world in their time of distress and of dismay? . . . . **I thank God that those who believe in America, who try to serve her people, are likely to be also what America herself from the first hoped and meant to be—the servant of mankind.**

### Imperialism—"Our Place in the Sun"

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 26.)

But when the state renounces all extension of power and recoils from

(*The Strenuous Life, Manhood and Statehood, August* 3, 1901, *page* 249.)

Our greatest statesmen have always been those who believed in the nation **—who had faith in the power of our people to spread until they should become the mightiest among the peoples of the world.**

We want "Stern Men with Empires in Their Brains."

(*The Strenuous Life, Manhood and Statehood, August* 3, 1901, *page* 7.)

The timid man, the lazy man, the

(*To The League to Enforce Peace, May* 27, 1916.)

Repeated utterances of the leading statesmen of most of the great nations now engaged in war have made it plain that their thought has come to this, that the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interests of particular nations, and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that the right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance

## BERNHARDI

every war which is necessary for its expansion when it is content to exist, and no longer wishes to grow; when "at peace on sluggard's couch it lies," then its citizens become stunted. The efforts of each individual are cramped and the broad aspect of things is lost. This is sufficiently exemplified by the pitiable existences of all small States, and every great power that mistrusts itself falls victim to the same curse.

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 22.)

The right of colonization is also recognized. Vast territories inhabited by uncivilized masses are occupied by more highly civilized States, and made subject to their rule. Higher civilization **and the correspondingly greater power are the foundations of the right to annexation.**

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### LATER COMMENTS FROM LORD ROBERTS.

**Report of essay read before Contemporary Clubs, October 13, 1916, by Cosmo Hamilton, Chicago Tribune, October 14, 1916.**

**Universal Peace—Utopian and Harmful.**

"History repeats itself. The present is the past entered through another gate, and war is as inevitable as death. It is not and never was an accident. In every instance, from the beginning of time, it is a well deserved punishment, worked up to and earned. It will come again with the swing of the pendulum. It is salutary, necessary, and is the only national tonic that can be prescribed."

**The Peace Movement is Destroying the National Character.**

"Pacifism, Lord Roberts declares, betrays not only wilful ignorance of history, but is a symptom of the fatal national anemia."

**The People Are Too "Peace-Loving."**

"Peace begets over-civilization and over-civilization degeneracy, Lord Roberts argues."

* * * *

". . . he asserts that Germany was the greatest friend of France, Russia and England when she declared war. The allies were fast falling into decadency, he implies."

* * * *

"'The moment when a country has become over-civilized is shown,' he says, 'by an outbreak of twisted thought. Directly a country's press becomes full of articles putting forth anti-vivisection, peace at any price, the

## ROOSEVELT

man who distrusts his country, the over-civilized man, who has lost the **great-fighting masterful virtues,** the ignorant man, and the man of dull mind, whose soul is incapable of feeling the mighty lift that thrills "stern men with empires in their brains"—all these, of course, shrink from seeing the nation undertake its new duties; shrink from seeing us build a navy and an army adequate to our needs; shrink from seeing us do our share of the world's work, by bringing order out of chaos in the great, fair tropic islands from which the valor of our soldiers and sailors has driven the Spanish flag. These are the men who fear the strenuous life, who fear **the only national life which is really worth leading.**

(*The Strenuous Life, Manhood and Statehood, August* 3, 1901, *page* 20.)

The twentieth century looms before us big with the fate of many nations. If we stand idly by, if we seek merely swollen, slothful ease and **ignoble peace,** if we shrink from the hard contests where men must win at hazard of their lives and at risk of all they hold dear, **then the bolder and stronger people will pass us by, and will win for themselves domination of the world.**

(*Expansion and Peace—The Strenuous Life, pages* 30-31.)

Scant attention is paid to the weakling or the coward who babbles of peace; but due heed is given to the **strong man with sword girt on thigh** who preaches peace, not from ignoble motives, not from fear or distrust of his own powers, but from a deep sense of moral obligation.

**Let us copy Rome and England—arch-types of Expansion.**

(*Expansion and Peace—The Strenuous Life, page* 37.)

Nations that expand and nations that do not expand may both ultimately go down; **but the one leaves heirs and a glorious memory, and the other leaves neither. The Roman expanded,** and he has left a memory which has profoundly influenced the history of mankind, and he has further left, as the heirs of his body, and, above all, of his tongue and culture, the so-called Latin peoples of Europe and America. Similarly today it is the great expanding peoples which bequeath to future ages the great memories and material results of their achievements, and the nations which shall have sprung from their loins, England standing as the arch-type and best exemplar of all such mighty nations. **But the peoples that do not expand leave, and can leave, nothing behind them.**

## WILSON

must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of mankind. The nations of the world have become each other's neighbors. It is to their interest that they should understand each other. In order that they may understand each other, it is imperative that they should agree to co-operate in a common cause, and that they should so act that the guiding principle of that common cause shall be even-handed and impartial justice.

(*Union Stockyards, Chicago, October* 19, 1916.)

**To stand not for national aggression, not for hostile rivalry, not for the things which stir the antagonistic passions of mankind, but for the rights of mankind, of every sort, everywhere.**

(*United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, June* 5, 1914, *page* 7.)

**Other nations have been strong. Other nations have piled wealth as high as the sky, but they have come into disgrace because they used their force and their wealth for the oppression of mankind and their own aggrandizement; and America will not bring glory to herself, but disgrace, by following the beaten paths of history.**

(*Joint Session of Congress, December* 7, 1915, page 6.)

**No one who really comprehends the spirit of the great people for whom we are appointed to speak can fail to perceive that their passion is for peace, their genius best displayed in the practice of the arts of peace. Great democracies are not belligerent. They do not seek or desire war. Their thought is of individual liberty and of the free labor that supports life and the uncensored thought that quickens it. Conquest and dominion are not in our reckoning, "or agreeable to our principles."**

(*Manhattan Club, New York City, November* 4, 1915, *page* 4.)

**In no man's mind, I am sure, is there even raised the question of the wilful use of force on our part against any nation or any people.** No matter what military or naval force the United States might develop, statesmen throughout the whole world might rest assured that we were gathering that force, not for attack in any quarter, not for aggression of any kind, not for the satisfaction of any political or international ambition, but merely to make sure of our own security. We have it in mind to be prepared, not for war, but only for defense; and with the thought constantly in our minds that **the principles we hold most dear can be achieved by the slow processes of history only in the kindly and wholesome atmosphere of peace, and not by the use of hostile force. The mission of America in the world is essentially a mission of peace and good will among men.**

## BERNHARDI

criminality of corporal punishment, and hysterical petitions against the taking of degenerate life, it is time for wise men to take stock.'"

### MIGHT MAKES RIGHT.

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 23.)

In such cases might gives the right to occupy or to conquer. Might is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war. War gives a biologically just decision, since its decisions rest on the very nature of things.

(*Germany and the Next War, pages* 51 *and* 52.)

He (Frederick the Great) knew better what suited the nonour and the moral value of his country, and preferred to die sword in hand than to conclude a degrading peace. **President Roosevelt, in his message to the Congress of the United States** of America on December 4, 1906, **gave expression to a similar thought.** "It must ever be kept in mind," **so the manly and inspiring words ran,** "that war is not merely justifiable, but imperative, upon honourable men and upon an honourable nation when peace is only to be obtained by the sacrifice of conscientious conviction or of national welfare."

## ROOSEVELT

(*Expansion and Peace—The Strenuous Life, page* 9.)

**We cannot sit huddled within our own borders** and avow ourselves merely an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters who care nothing.

### AMERICAN IDEALS.

(*American Ideals—Washington's Forgotten Maxim, page* 240.)

All the great masterful races have been fighting races and **the minute that a race loses the hard fighting virtues, then, no matter what else it may retain, no matter how skilled in commerce and finance, in science or art, it has lost its proud rights to stand as the equal of the best.**

(*Fear God and Take Your Own Part, page* 90.)

The best men among the territorials keenly realized the truth of the position **taken by that fine-minded old hero, Lord Roberts,** and memorialized the English Government in favor of a system of universal military service as the only adequate method to secure effective home defense.

## WILSON

(*Convention Hall, Philadelphia, May* 10, 1915.)

A nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family; whereas, America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind. The example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because **peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not.** There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right.

(*G. A. R. Celebration, September* 28, 1915, **page 1.)**

You have the satisfaction, which I dare say few soldiers have ever had, of looking back upon a war absolutely unique in this, that instead of destroying it healed, that instead of making a permanent division it made a permanent union.

(*Speech of Acceptance at Shadow Lawn, September* 2, 1916.)

The effects of war can no longer be confined to the areas of battle. No nation stands wholly apart when the life and interests of all nations are thrown into confusion and peril. The nations of the world must unite in joint guarantees that whatever is done to disturb the whole world's life must first be tested in the court of the whole world's opinion before it is attempted.

These are the few foundations the world must build for itself, and we must play our part in the reconstruction.

One of the contributions we must make to the world's peace is this: We must see to it that the people in our insular possessions are treated in their own lands as we would treat them here, and make the rule of the United States mean the same thing everywhere.

# PART IX.

## Christianity Justifies War

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 29.)

Christian morality is personal and social, and in its nature cannot be political. Its object is to promote morality of the individual, in order to strengthen him to work unselfishly in the interests of the community. It tells us to love our individual enemies, but does not remove the conception of enmity. Christ, himself, said: "I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword." His teaching can never be adduced as an argument against the universal law of struggle. **There never**

(*Fear God and Take Your Own Part, page* 26.)

When the Saviour saw the money changers in the Temple He broke the peace by driving them out. At that moment peace could have been obtained readily enough by the simple process of keeping quiet in the presence of wrong. But instead of preserving peace at the expense of righteousness, the Saviour armed Himself with a scourge of cords and drove the money-changers from the Temple.

(*Address at Columbus, O., December* 10, 1915.)

After all, **the most vitalizing thing in the world is Christianity. The world has advanced, advanced in what we regard as real civilization, not by material but by spiritual means, and one nation is distinguished from another nation by its ideals, not by its possessions;** by what it believes in, by what it lives by, by what it intends, by the visions which its young men dream and the achievements which its mature men attempt. So that each na-

## BARNHARDI

**was a religion which was more combative than Christianity.** Combat, moral combat, is its very essence. If we transfer the ideas of Christianity to the sphere of politics, we can claim to raise the power of the State-power in the widest sense, not merely from the material aspect to the highest degree, with the object of the moral advancement of humanity, and under certain conditions the sacrifice may be made which a war demands. Thus, according to Christianity, we cannot disprove of war itself, but must admit that it is justified morally and historically.

## ROOSEVELT

## WILSON

tion when it writes its poetry or writes its memoirs, exalts the character of its people and of those who spring from the loins of its people.

(*Topeka Address, February* 2, 1916.)

**This nation loves peace more than it loves anything else except honor.**

## PART X.

WE FIND NO PARALLEL IN BERNHARDI.

(*American Ideals—Washington's Forgotten Maxim, page* 242.)

**No triumph of peace is quite so great as the supreme triumph of war.** The courage of the soldier, the courage of the statesman who has to meet storms which can be quelled **only by soldierly qualities—this stands higher than any quality called out merely in time of peace.**

(*American Ideals—Washington's Forgotten Maxim, page* 244.)

We of the United States have passed most of our few years of national life in peace. **But we feel, after all, that the men who have dared greatly in war, or the work which is akin to war, are those who deserve best of the country.** The men of Bunker Hill and Trenton, Saratoga and Yorktown, and the men of New Orleans and Mobile Bay, Gettysburg and Appomattox, are those to whom we owe most. **None of our heroes of peace, save a few great constructive statesmen, can rank with our heroes of war.**

(*Associated Press Luncheon, New York, April* 20, 1915.)

I am interested in neutrality because **there is something so much greater to do than fight; there is a distinction waiting for this nation that no nation has ever yet got. That is the distinction of absolute self-control and self-mastery.**

## PART XI.

### Better to War Wantonly Than Not to War At All

"DUTY TO BEGIN WAR OF AGGRESSION."

(*Germany and the Next War, page* 40.)

If the statesman acts in this spirit, **he will have an acknowledged right, under certain circumstances, to begin war, regarded as necessary, at the most favorable** moment, and to secure for his country the proud privilege of such initiative.

(*American Ideals—Washington's Forgotten Maxim, pages* 241 *and* 242.)

Better a thousand times err on the side of over-readiness to fight, than to err on the side of tame submission to injury, or cold-blooded indifference to the misery of the oppressed.

Wanton or unjust war is an abhorrent evil. **But there are even worse evils.** Page 55, *"Fear God and Take Your Own Part."*

(*Address delivered at the First Annual Assemblage of the League to Enforce Peace, May* 27, 1916.)

It is plain that this war could have come only as it did, suddenly and out of secret counsels, without warning to the world, without discussion, without any of the deliberate movements of counsel with which it would seem natural to approach so stupendous a contest. It is probable that if it had been foreseen just what would happen, just what alliances would be formed, just what forces arrayed against one another, those who brought the great contest on would have been glad to substitute conference for force.

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# THE FIELD

***"The World is my country, to do Good is my Religion."***

## WOODROW WILSON'S TRIBUTE TO THE SPIRIT OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Many attempts have been made to frame "the perfect tribute" to Abraham Lincoln. Woodrow Wilson pictures him as the mysterious but reassuring product of democracy. The spiritual quality of this portrait no less than the art displayed in the use of less than fifteen hundred words to paint it make it memorable. By popular subscription the log-cabin birthplace of Lincoln on a farm near Hodgenville, Kentucky, has been enclosed in an imposing granite memorial building as a gift to the nation. President Wilson, called upon to accept the memorial, September 4, gave this impressive interpretation of it.

"No more significant memorial could have been presented to the nation than this. It expresses so much of what is singular and noteworthy in the history of the country; it suggests so many of the things that we prize most highly in our life and in our system of government.

How eloquent this little house within this shrine is of the vigor of democracy! There is nowhere in the land any home so remote, so humble, that it may not contain the power of mind and heart and conscience to which nations yield and history submits its processes.

Nature pays no tribute to aristocracy, subscribes to no creed or caste, renders fealty to no monarch or master of any name or kind.

Genius is no snob. It does not run after titles or seek by preference the high circles of society. It affects humble company as well as great. It pays no special tribute to universities or learned societies or conventional standards of greatness, but serenely chooses its own comrades, its own haunts, its own cradle even, and its own life of adventure and of training.

Here is proof of it. This little hut was the cradle of one of the great sons of men, a man of singular, delightful, vital genius who presently emerged upon the great stage of the nation's history, gaunt, shy, ungainly, but dominant and majestic, a natural ruler of men, himself inevitably the central figure of the great plot.

No man can explain this, but every man can see how it demonstrates the vigor of democracy, where every door is open in every hamlet and countryside, in city and wilderness alike, for the ruler to emerge when he will and claim his leadership in the free life. Such are the authentic proofs of the validity and vitality of democracy.

Here, no less, hides the mystery of democracy. Who shall guess this secret of nature and Providence and a free polity?

Whatever the vigor and vitality of the stock from which he sprang, its mere vigor and soundness do not explain where this man got his great heart that seemed to comprehend all mankind in its catholic and benignant sympathy, the mind that sat enthroned behind those brooding, melancholy eyes, whose vision swept many a horizon which those about him dreamed not of—that mind that comprehended what it had never seen, and understood the language of affairs with the ready ease of one to the manner born—or that nature which seemed in its varied richness to be the familiar of men of every way of life.

This is the sacred mystery of democracy, that its richest fruits spring up out of soils which no man has prepared and its circumstances amid which they are the least expected. This is a place alike of mystery and of reassurance.

It is likely that in a society ordered otherwise than our own Lincoln could not have found himself or the path of fame and power upon which he walked serenely to his death. In this place it is right that we should remind ourselves of the solid and striking facts upon which our faith in democracy is founded.

Many another man besides Lincoln has served the nation in its highest places of council and of action whose origins were as humble as his. Though the greatest example of the universal energy, richness, stimulation, and force of democracy, he is only one example among many. The permeating and all-pervasive virtue of the freedom which challenges us in America to make the most of every gift and power we possess, every page of our history serves to emphasize and illustrate. Standing here in this place, it seems almost the whole of the stirring story.

Here Lincoln had his beginnings. Here the end and consummation of that great life seem remote and a bit incredible. And yet there was no break anywhere between beginning and end, no lack of natural sequence anywhere. Nothing really incredible happened. Lincoln was unaffectedly as much at home in the White House as he was here.

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Do you share with me the feeling, I wonder, that he was permanently at home nowhere? It seems to me that in the case of a man—I would rather say of a spirit—like Lincoln the question where he was is of little significance; that it is always what he was that really arrests our thought and takes hold of our imagination.

It is the spirit always that is sovereign. Lincoln, like the rest of us, was put through the discipline of the world—a very rough and exacting discipline for him, an indispensable discipline for every man who would know what he is about in the midst of the world's affairs; but his spirit got only its schooling there. It did not derive its character or its vision from the experiences which brought it to its full revelation.

The test of every American must always be, not where he is, but what he is. That also is of the essence of democracy, and is the moral of which this place is most gravely expressive.

We would like to think of men like Lincoln and Washington as typical Americans, but no man can be typical who is so unusual as these great men were. It was typical of American life that it should produce such men with supreme indifference as to the manner in which it produced them, and as readily here in this hut as amid the little circle of cultivated gentlemen to whom Virginia owed so much in leadership and example.

And Lincoln and Washington were typical Americans in the use they made of their genius. But there will be few such men at best, and we will not look into the mystery of how and why they come. We will only keep the door open for them always, and a hearty welcome—after we have recognized them.

I have read many biographies of Lincoln; I have sought out with the greatest interest the many intimate stories that are told of him, the narratives of nearby friends, the sketches at close quarters, in which those who had the privilege of being associated with him have tried to depict for us the very man himself "in his habit as he lived," but I have nowhere found a real intimate of Lincoln's. I nowhere get the impression in any narrative or reminiscence that the writer had in fact penetrated to the heart of his mystery, or that any man could penetrate to the heart of it.

That brooding spirit had no real familiars. I get the impression that it never spoke out in complete self-revelation, and that it could not reveal itself completely to anyone. It was a very lonely spirit that looked out from underneath those shaggy brows and comprehended men without fully communing with them, as if, in spite of all its genial efforts at comradeship, it dwelt apart, saw its visions of duty where no man looked on.

There is a very holy and very terrible isolation for the conscience of every man who seeks to read the destiny in affairs for others as well as for himself, for a nation as well as for individuals. That privacy no man can intrude upon. That lonely search of the spirit for the right perhaps no man can assist. This strange child of the cabin kept company with invisible things, was born into no intimacy but that of its own silently assembling and deploying thoughts.

I have come here today not to utter a eulogy on Lincoln; he stands in need of none, but to endeavor to interpret the meaning of this gift to the nation of the place of his birth and origin.

Is not this an altar upon which we may forever keep alive the vestal fire of democracy as upon a shrine at which some of the deepest and most sacred hopes of mankind may from age to age be rekindled? For these hopes must certainly be rekindled, and only those who live can rekindle them.

The only stuff that can retain the life-giving heat is the stuff of living hearts. And the hopes of mankind cannot be kept alive by words merely, by constitutions and doctrines of right and codes of liberty. The object of democracy is to transmute these into the life and action of society, the self-denial and self-sacrifice of heroic men and women willing to make their lives an embodiment of right and service and enlightened purpose.

The commands of democracy are as imperative as its privileges and opportunities are wide and generous. Its compulsion is upon us. It will be great and lift a great light for the guidance of the nations only if we are great and carry that light high for the guidance of our own feet.

We are not worthy to stand here unless we ourselves be in deed and in truth real democrats and servants of mankind, ready to give our very lives for the freedom and justice and spiritual exaltation of the great nation which shelters and nurtures us.

HILLS.

I never loved your plains!—
Your gentle valleys,
Your drowsy country lanes
And pleached alleys.

I want my hills!—the trail
That scorns the hollow,—
Up, up the ragged shale
Where few will follow,

Up, over wooded crest
And mossy boulder
With strong, high, heaving chest,
And swinging shoulder,

So let me hold my way,
By nothing halted,
Until, at close of day,
I stand, exalted,

High on my hills of dream—
Dear hills that know me!
And then, how fair will seem
The lands below me,

How pure, at vesper-time,
The far bells chiming—
God, give me hills to climb,
And strength for climbing!

*From "High Tide."*

*—Arthur Guiterman,*

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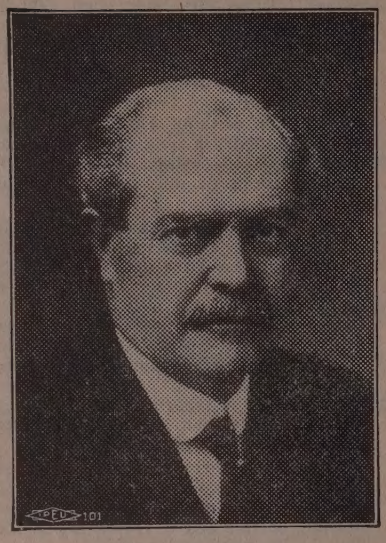

Governor Dunne, in addressing a large audience at Carthage, again criticized Colonel Lowden's attitude on the Waterway. Governor Dunne said in part:

"Col. Lowden's silence on one very important issue in this campaign is more than strange; in view of his connections and the character of his support, it is sinister. I refer to the waterway from the lakes to the gulf.

When I read the republican platform and observed the omission of a waterway plank, I was astonished. The republicans in the state legislature, I recalled, had supported the waterway. Senator Sherman has been one of its most ardent advocates. The republican convention of 1914 strongly endorsed it. Why was the Peoria convention silent?

There is only one explanation possible; the candidate for governor must have insisted upon striking this plank out. The party was so strongly on record before, that only Mr. Lowden himself, by taking an obstinate stand, could have obtained such a complete reversal.

Why did Mr. Lowden do this? He has declined to answer. We must find the answer ourselves. To anyone who is familiar with the selfish, soulless, visionless viewpoint of a certain class of men who control great corporations, an answer immediately suggests itself. Waterways always reduce railway rates; the railroads are against the Illinois waterway. But can it be possible that a nominee of a great party for governor, seriously presented as the trustee for all the people of this state for the next four years, is opposed to a great public improvement which is vital to the prosperity and progress of this region, because it might hurt the profits of the railroads?

Unfortunately, no other conclusion is possible. Mr. Lowden's financial interests, his associates in this campaign and the character of that campaign leave no other explanation to be made.

I do not regard the deep waterway proposition as exclusively a democratic measure. I am not so prejudiced as to claim all the credit for it. It concerns the interests of all the people of the state. The bill providing for it was passed by a republican legislature. I am glad to say that it has had the endorsement of the great newspapers of the state, regardless of their political affiliations. The Association of Commerce, Commercial Clubs, Boards of Trade, organizations of business men, all regardless of politics, have favored this plan.

I put it before you, not as a party measure but as a great and important project that means millions of dollars saved to the people of the state after it is in operation. It is discussed as an issue in this campaign because Col. Lowden not only refuses to endorse it but refuses to even tell where he stands; the only conclusion of course being left is that he is against it. The deliberate action of the Republican State Convention in avoiding any reference to this matter in their platform also makes it a party issue. I appeal for the support of this measure to the great independent and business interests of the state because it is of vital interest to their welfare. It is a measure that was lifted out of party politics entirely until the republicans made it an issue by refusing to discuss it in their present platform. The one positive conclusion is that if Mr. Lowden is elected Governor, there will be no waterway.

## FAITH AND WORKS.

"We prate of love and deal in hate,
We talk of faith and trust to fate.
O might we do the things we preach,
Could we but live the life we teach!

"When Christ was born, did men rejoice?
Adown the ages swells his voice,
But sounds in vain for him who reads,
If faith leads not to loving deeds.

"When Plato lit the torch of yore
The beacon blazed from shore to shore,
And we upon time's farthest height
Shall see it flash across the night.

"Uplift the brand, nor fear the burn;
Dare, in a world of doubt, to learn
That God attains Himself through you—
Christ lives today in them that do."

—*Charles Keeler.*

*From "The Victory."*


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